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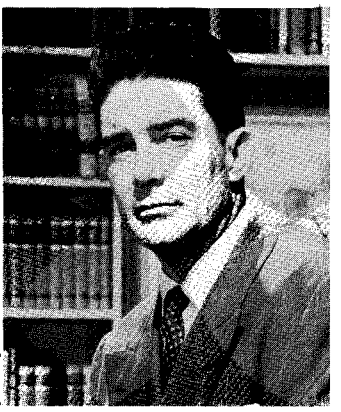

DAN SMOOT

OUR NO-WIN POLICY

During the last two years of the Eisenhower Administration, liberals, internationalists, pro-communists, and communists, all over the world, began to show considerable concern about the growth of out-spoken, anti-communist patriotism among senior officers in the United States Armed Forces. High-ranking military men were becoming prominent in the anti-communist movement in this country. Many of them were much in demand as speakers at various anti-communist gatherings.

The language which these military men used in discussing communism was too blunt to please Washington officialdom. Hence, the Department of Defense (working with, or under the "guidance" of, the State Department) tightened control over military personnel — requiring important officers to submit prepared speeches for approval, and for deletion of "objectionable" passages.

This censorship (or "muzzling of the military") attracted little public attention until January, 1961 — after President Kennedy had been inaugurated — when Admiral Arleigh Burke was prohibited from making a public speech in which he said the Soviets cannot be trusted.[1]

The censorship of strong, effective anti-communism among American military personnel did not become a widely publicized condition until April 18, 1961, when President Kennedy removed Major General Edwin A. Walker from his command in West Germany.

By mid-July, 1961, the "liberal" attack on anti-communist patriotism in our armed forces was in full thunder; and the official censorship of effective anti-communist expressions from the public utterances of military personnel was virtually complete.

On July 26, 1961, Senator Strom Thurmond (Democrat, South Carolina) started a difficult but determined campaign to bring this dangerous condition to public attention.

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On August 4, 1961, Thurmond introduced a Senate Resolution asking for an investigation of the muzzling of anti-communism in the armed forces.[2]

Thurmond's efforts resulted in a series of hearings (beginning January 23, 1962) before the Special Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, with Senator John Stennis (Democrat, Mississippi) as Chairman.

Press coverage of these hearings has been inadequate; and the public has not been given an accurate picture of Senator Thurmond's purpose in the hearings. Despite widespread misconceptions, Senator Thurmond *does* respect the constitutional principle of civilian control; he *knows* that military men should not try to formulate policy except through regular channels, as military advisers; and he *approves* of a reasonable program of clearing public speeches by military men with higher civilian authorities.

Senator Thurmond's primary purpose in the hearings into censorship of anti-communist statements by military men is to expose for public and congressional view the basic, tragically wrong policy which caused the censorship. Senator Thurmond hoped the hearings would show that the unknown bureaucrats, in the Defense and State Departments, who blue-pencil the speeches of military men, are faithfully implementing the "no-win, defeatist" policy which is causing "paralysis" of United States strength in the cold-war — and which is the official policy of our government.[3]

Despite the fact that President Kennedy has, in effect, as Senator Thurmond says, taken the Fifth Amendment by invoking the "executive privilege" to prevent Administration employees from giving the Senate Subcommittee information it is legally entitled to get; and despite poor press coverage — Senator Thurmond's efforts to expose the "muzzling" of anti-communist patriots in the armed forces has already accomplished a large portion of the Senator's purpose.

On February 19, 1962, Senator Thurmond put into the *Congressional Record* (pp. 2238 ff) a report prepared by the Special Preparedness Subcommittee. The report contains the items censored from approximately 170 speeches. The entire report is available, as a reprint from the *Record*, at Senator Thurmond's office in the Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. Ask for the reprint by title: "Senator Thurmond Presents Anti-Communist Items Censored From Military Statements."

I do not see how any intelligent person can read the material which has been censored from military speeches without concluding that the official policy of our government is to appease and placate the communists until we can ultimately reach "an accommodation" with them. This means voluntary surrender to a world communist-socialist system which, it is hoped, will be somewhat less objectionable than the world communist-socialist system that the Soviets want to impose on us by force and conquest.

Below are samplings from the Senate Subcommittee's report on censorship of the military.

1960

Here are passages which the censors required Lt. General Arthur G. Trudeau (Chief of Research and Development, Department of the Army) to delete from a speech delivered on January 29, 1960:

"I, for one, do not believe that the Soviets have relented in the slightest in their determination to dominate the world and to destroy our way of life. At the present time, the Soviet Union presumably wants to relax tensions, but only those they themselves have created, such as Berlin. Remember this: if Russia relaxes them, it will only be in her own interest. She will tighten the tensions, when it is again to her interest.

"Such is the nature of communism; and against it we can mount only eternal vigilance for our security and positive measures to neutralize Soviet advances. We must not be

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lulled into a false sense of security, no matter what the tactic."

"History fairly brims over with examples of proud nations which have slowly sunk into oblivion because they sowed the seeds of their own decay. Nations who will learn nothing from these examples are doomed to repeat them.

"The eminent British historian, Arnold Toynbee, has pointed out that 19 of 21 notable world civilizations have died from within and not by conquest from without. Ours must not be No. 20."

That last paragraph is especially interesting. Notice that it was censored from General Trudeau's speech in January, 1960, during the Eisenhower Administration. The censorship reflects, however, a major policy position of the Kennedy Administration.

President Kennedy, Senator J. William Fulbright, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, virtually all prominent members of the Council on Foreign Relations, and all other important persons who support the Kennedy Administration, denounce as "crackpots," "ultra-rightists," "extremists," and "super-patriots" American citizens who claim that there is real danger of communist subversion in the United States. All defenders of the New Frontier methods of fighting communism (which, incidentally, includes Former President Eisenhower and former Vice President Nixon) claim that there is no danger from communism within; that we must be concerned only with communism abroad.[4]

Major General John W. Carpenter III had the following sentence in a prepared speech (date not given):

"There is no reason to believe that the communist conspiracy will abandon its goal of world domination; or alter the basic strategy contrived to attain that goal."

Censors deleted the sentence, without giving a reason; but the reason is obvious: the sentence conflicts with the real attitude which the United States government has had toward the Soviet Union ever since Franklin D. Roosevelt told Ambassador William C. Bullitt that we can get along with the Soviets if we give them everything they want and demand nothing in return. This policy is based on the assumption that the Soviets are truculent and belligerent *only* because they sincerely feel that we are their enemies and that we want to destroy their communist system; consequently, if we can just hold out long enough to prove to them that we are *not* their enemies and that we do *not* want to destroy communism, the Soviets will become lovable and peaceful.

I am convinced that there are unknown communists inside our government who help formulate and direct policies which help the Soviets and hurt the United States — policies which put us perpetually in the position of giving and yielding to, even fawning upon, the Soviets; but I think the "respectable" high-level support for these policies (by such people as the President and Secretary of State) is based not on any conscious pro-communist bias, but on the dangerous fallacy that the Soviets *can and will* change if we will handle them gingerly and wait long enough.

Hence, I feel that the censors who deleted the quoted sentence from Major General Carpenter's speech were reflecting a *fundamental* (and disastrously wrong) policy which the United States government has followed since Roosevelt extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union in 1933.

If anyone doubts that it is official policy to hope for a change in the Soviets (rather than to recognize them as our mortal enemies and to plan for victory rather than defeat), he should read carefully the State Department censor's comment on a passage in a speech which Lt. General Arthur G. Trudeau prepared for delivery on April 25, 1960. General Trudeau had a sentence which read:

"Either we can remain the champion in this vicious race by exerting our full strength . . . or we can skulk and sulk like fearful and frustrated people and go down in the ignominy of defeat."

The State Department censor said:

"This section might well be tempered since

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it largely rules out any chance of an evolution of the Soviet system. It is a little too militant on the eve of the summit. Eliminate *either-or* concept to allow possibility of evolution of Soviet system."

In a speech which Major General N. W. Grant prepared for delivery on May 21, 1960, there was a commentary on Khrushchev, which contained this passage:

"Nevertheless, in his written statements and in other talks, he has indicated that the Soviet Union intends to bury us literally, rather than figuratively."

State Department censors deleted the passage, with the comment:

"This is against policy."

In a speech prepared for delivery on May 21, 1960, Major General T. C. Darcy, Assistant for Western Affairs, Deputy Chief of Staff, Plans and Programs, had a commentary on the perennial hopefulness of Americans in their dealings with Khrushchev. The General said, among other things:

"That is why we have been eager to believe that Khrushchev's smiling face and outstretched hand were indications of a new attitude on the part of the Soviets."

State Department censors deleted this passage, with the comment:

"Let's stay away from Khrushchev for the time being."

In the light of this censors' comment (in May, 1960), it is interesting to recall that it was in late 1959 (during and following Khrushchev's visit to the United States) and in the spring of 1960 (during preparations for Eisenhower's return visit to the Soviet Union, which Khrushchev himself later cancelled) that well-informed observers in Washington became aware that the Eisenhower Administration was deliberately taking steps to help build up prestige for Khrushchev: Khrushchev was thought to be in a power struggle at home; and Eisenhower advisers felt that, however difficult Khrushchev may be, he is easier for us to get along with than any of his probable successors would be.

1961

In a speech prepared for delivery on January 21, 1961, at a seminar on fourth dimensional warfare at the Philadelphia Quartermaster Center, General Trudeau had this paragraph:

"We will be blocked and harassed, not only by selfish interests who are unable to rise to the occasion, but by the *Fabian Socialists* and communists who, most of all, fear the power of an aroused America that seizes the initiative in the present struggle."

State Department censors required him to delete *Fabian Socialists and* from this paragraph. In the public speeches which President Kennedy made on the West Coast during November, 1961, the President denounced "extremists" and "super-patriots" not only for contending that there is danger from communism within the United States; but also for equating socialism with communism.

The technique of Fabian Socialists is to promote communism, slyly and deceitfully, under other labels.[5]

State Department censors deleted the following paragraph from a speech which General Trudeau prepared for delivery to the Royal Canadian Military Institute on January 31, 1961:

"Beyond a shadow of a doubt, your country and mine are the prime targets of the worldwide, all-out offensive of world communism. This offensive has forced nations that glory in free institutions to join in defending these priceless values. This is why — and the simple, sole and irrefutable reason — we and our allies arm — to counter the communist threat. Since the day of their bloody, red revolution, the Soviets ceaselessly have increased their weapon capabilities against the day when, in Khrushchev's words, they 'will bury us.' "

In the same prepared speech, General Trudeau had said:

"As we *engage the communists*, let us be fully aware of the significance of two of the

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phenomena which characterize the *vicious worldwide struggle now upon us.*"

State Department censors deleted the passages which we have italicized, substituting the passages which we have italicized in the sentence below, making the final, censored sentence read:

"As we *strive for a real peace*, let us be fully aware of the significance of two of the phenomena which characterize the *world today.*"

One sentence of General Trudeau's prepared speech for the Canadian Military Institute read:

"Here, we must sense new horizons — continuously — to meet the critical challenges of communism."

State Department censors changed the sentence to read:

"Here, we must sense new horizons — continuously — to meet the critical challenges of *the day.*"

In a speech prepared for delivery on February 11, 1961, Lt. General B. A. Schriever, commander, Air Research and Development Command, was required to delete the following sentence:

"And, according to communist doubletalk, these people are working for the peace of the world — a peace on communist terms."

State Department censors required General Trudeau to delete the following passage from a speech prepared for delivery in February, 1961, to the Science and Astronautics Committee of the House of Representatives:

"With Soviet infiltration menacing this Nation and extending through the far corners of the globe, freedom of spirit and self stands in great jeopardy. The threat of catastrophic war again haunts the lover of liberty and the protagonist of peace. The Reds deliberately, fanatically, unceasingly, strive to destroy the shreds of stability remaining as we enter the new frontiers of the sixties. A tower of peace founded on anarchy and chaos cannot stand."

The State Department bureaucrats don't even want a Committee of Congress to hear the truth.

In a speech prepared for delivery on February 26, 1961, Vice Admiral R. B. Pirie (USN) had a sentence which read:

"We can protect the overcoat of freedom from the violent theft in the daytime, only to find that the moths of subversion and slow revolution have devoured it in the night."

Censors deleted the whole sentence, without giving a reason; but the reason is obvious: the sentence conflicts with official policy that there is no danger from "within."

Here are passages which censors deleted from a speech prepared by Lt. General Joseph F. Carroll for delivery on February 26, 1961:

"By its consistent pattern of violations and aggressions, the Soviet Union became an antagonist."

"It was at last clear that Soviet leaders saw the United States as the biggest obstacle to their domination of the world and that they would not hesitate to launch an assault against us whenever the time seemed right."

In a speech prepared for delivery at a National Security Seminar, Evansville, Indiana, on February 27, 1961, Major General E. M. Houseman had referred to the American Revolution as an "authentic revolution," saying:

"This authentic revolution was *not of the Castro variety.*"

State Department censors deleted *not of the Castro variety*, and substituted *unlike some of more recent memory.*

In a speech prepared for delivery to the Corps of Cadets at The Citadel (military school) on March 18, 1961, General Trudeau had a sentence which read, in part:

". . . the free world will survive and progress or else go down in the dust of despair and defeat, if the torch of liberty is snuffed out *by the poisonous fumes of world communism.*"

State Department censors required him to delete *by the poisonous fumes of world communism.*

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In a speech prepared for delivery on March 18, 1961, General George H. Decker had a passage which read,

". . . we must consciously strive to place the interests of our country *first*."

The context of this passage in General Decker's speech makes it obvious that he meant we must place the interest of our country *first, ahead of the interests of other countries.*

State Department censors required him to change the passage so that it read:

". . . we must consciously strive to place the interests of our country *above those of ourselves*."

State Department bureaucrats, implementing policies of the Administration, are evidently alert to stamp out any signs of a resurgence of America-Firstism — that is, a patriotic attitude which holds that the policies of the United States Government should be designed to promote, first of all, the interests and security of the United States.

In a speech prepared for delivery on April 26, 27, and 29, 1961, General Trudeau wanted to say:

"Nothing less will permit us to *emerge victorious* as the end of the century approaches."

Censors in the State Department required him to say:

"Nothing less will permit us to *achieve our goals* . . ."

General Trudeau wanted to say:

"Foremost of these is the godless ideology of communism, *encompassing marxism, socialism, nihilism, and using its own special brand of Russian imperialism to enslave free men everywhere.*"

State Department censors required him to delete everything which we have italicized.

It is curious that the censors overlooked "godless ideology," in General Trudeau's speech, because they deleted this description of communism in numerous other speeches.

State Department censors also required General Trudeau to delete this sentence:

"Coexistence is not a choice. It is a fatal disease."

In a speech prepared for delivery on May 5, 1961, General Herbert B. Powell, commanding General, U. S. Continental Army Command, had a paragraph which read:

"The world communist movement today is but a single conspiracy by a small, organized minority — against humanity as a whole. They plot to impose on all humanity a self-confessed dictatorship operating through individual parties centrally controlled through the principle of democratic centralism, and coordinated under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

Censors deleted the whole paragraph.

In a speech prepared for delivery on May 17, 1961, General Trudeau used the phrase *world communism.*

State Department censors changed the phrase to *Sino-Soviet communism,* with the comment:

"We want to discourage the term *world communism.* It sounds very pessimistic and also, to some, pleasantly international, like the U.N."

In a speech prepared for delivery on May 25, 1961, Brigadier General M. W. Schewe, Deputy Assistant Chief of Staff for Reserve Components, had a sentence which read:

"Ultimately either totalitarian communism will prevail or the freedom familiar to the societies of the West will expand."

State Department censors deleted the whole sentence.

In a speech prepared for delivery on June 10, 1961, Brigadier General John E. Dougherty had a paragraph which read:

"If we are successful in preventing war, the peril to freedom will still exist. The struggle will continue to be carried on in the political economic, and ideological areas. *And defeat in these areas could be as costly as military defeat, if it results in the extinction of our freedom.*"

Censors required General Dougherty to delete the last sentence, which we have italicized.

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If Their Destiny Is Communism

In a speech prepared for delivery on April 11, 1961, Lt. General George W. Mundy, USAF, had a sentence which read:

"In fact, the big question of our day is just simply this: Will the future world, that is, the emerging world order, be in our image, the image of the Western World, or will it be in the image of world communism?"

State Department censors deleted this sentence, giving the following explanation:

"No, we want people to have the right and freedom to choose [their] own destiny."

I never have believed our foreign aid lobbyists when they "justify" our aid to underdeveloped countries, with the argument that we must help the emerging nations emerge so that they will emerge into our way of life and not turn to communism. Obviously, State Department censors don't believe them either.

This censors' comment is remarkable for many reasons. If "we want people to have the right and freedom to choose their own destiny," why have we used American money, and prestige, and military power to support the United Nations war against Premier Tshombe of Katanga Province, in the Congo? Tshombe is anti-communist and was (before our shameful treatment of him) pro-Western and pro-American. He wanted the people of Katanga to exercise their "right and freedom to choose their own destiny" and secede from the communist-controlled Republic of Congo.

But the Kennedy Administration and the United Nations contend that the people of Katanga must not be permitted the right of self-determination; and United Nations troops, with American equipment and American financial support, have bombed hospitals, and private residences and have, generally, destroyed a considerable amount of human life and property in Katanga to keep those people from exercising their "right and freedom to choose their own destiny."

In Laos our roving Ambassador, Averell Harriman, is today repeating the ghastly error committed by George Marshall in China in the late 1940's. Chiang Kai-shek knew that if he formed a coalition government with the communists, the communists would eventually take over. He wanted the people of China to exercise their "right and freedom to choose

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their own destiny" and throw the communists out. George Marshall, by withholding American aid, forced Chiang Kai-shek to take communists into his government. The result was the communist conquest of China.[6]

Here are passages from an Associated Press story from Vientiane, Laos, published in *The Dallas Times Herald,* March 24, 1962:

"W. Averell Harriman, President Kennedy's troubleshooter in the Far East, arrived here today and conferred with King Savang Vathana on formation of a coalition regime.

"Harriman's task is to try to persuade the royal government to accept neutralists and pro-communists in a unity government to bring peace to the Asian kingdom."

We have given hundreds of millions of dollars of aid to Laos. The House Committee on Government operations discovered in 1959 that we had sent so much "aid" to Laos (a great deal of which was virtually forced upon that country) that we had ruined the Laotian economy.[7]

After 1959, however, we continued to pour aid into Laos — until February, 1962, when we cut it off abruptly in an effort to force the King to accept communists in his government.[8] *All* of our aid to Laos has been justified, by our foreign aid lobbyists, on the grounds that it would enable the Laotians to resist communism.

State Department censors who delete strong anti-communist statements from the speeches of military officers say that we "want people to have the right and freedom to choose their own destiny."

What we did in China, Cuba, Hungary, the Dominican Republic; what we did and are still doing in Poland, Yugoslavia, Laos, the British West Indies, the Dutch East Indies, and throughout Africa — indeed, throughout the world — indicates that the consistent policy of the Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy Administrations has been to help the fulfillment of 'destiny" for those nations "destined" to be conquered by communists — but to oppose the "right and freedom" of people to "choose their own destiny" if they want to resist communism.

FOOTNOTES

(1) For full text of the censored Burke speech see *Congressional Record,* February 19, 1962, p. 2256 — reprints are available at Senator Thurmond's office: ask for "Senator Thurmond Presents Anti-Communist Items Censored from Military Statements," a reprint from the *Congressional Record* of February 19, 1962

(2) See this *Report,* "*Modus Operandi,*" September 18, 1961

(3) Senator Thurmond's speech before American Legion Post 140, Atlanta, Georgia, March 10, 1962 — copies probably available from the Senator's office

(4) See, particularly, newspaper accounts of President Kennedy's speech on November 18, 1961, at the Hollywood Palladium, in which the President said ". . . our peril . . . comes from without, not within." Essence of this speech quoted in this *Report,* December 25, 1961. See also the Fulbright Memorandum, quoted in full in the *Congressional Record,* August 2, 1961, pp. 13436 ff. quoted in part in this *Report,* September 18, 1961

(5) See *Keynes at Harvard,* and this *Report,* "Socialist Control in Washington," February 19, 1962

(6) See *America's Retreat from Victory* by the late Senator Joseph McCarthy; and *The China Story* by Freda Utley

(7) See *U. S. Aid Operations in Laos: Seventh Report of the House Committee on Government Operations,* a 51-page booklet published June 15, 1959, by the Government Printing Office

(8) Associated Press story from Vientiane, Laos, published in *The Dallas Morning News,* March 5, 1962

WHO IS DAN SMOOT?

Dan Smoot was born in Missouri. Reared in Texas, he attended SMU in Dallas, taking BA and MA degrees from that university in 1938 and 1940.

In 1941, he joined the faculty at Harvard as a Teaching Fellow in English, doing graduate work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of American Civilization.

In 1942, he took leave of absence from Harvard in order to join the FBI. At the close of the war, he stayed in the FBI, rather than return to Harvard.

He worked as an FBI Agent in all parts of the nation, handling all kinds of assignments. But for three and a half years, he worked exclusively on communist investigations in the industrial midwest. For two years following that, he was on FBI headquarters staff in Washington, as an Administrative Assistant to J. Edgar Hoover.

After nine and a half years in the FBI, Smoot resigned to help start the Facts Forum movement in Dallas. As the radio and television commentator for Facts Forum, Smoot, for almost four years spoke to a national audience giving both sides of great controversial issues.

In July, 1955, he resigned and started his own independent program, in order to give only one side — the side that uses fundamental American principles as a yardstick for measuring all important issues.

If you believe that Dan Smoot is providing effective tools for those who want to think and talk and write on the side of freedom, you can help immensely by subscribing, and encouraging others to subscribe, to ***The Dan Smoot Report.***

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